

Karaeng Electability in Village Head Elections: A Review of Patron-Client Relations and Capital Power in Bontomate'ne Village, Jeneponto Regency

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Abstract

This study explores the role of Karaeng in local politics in Bontomate'ne Village, Jeneponto, to understand the relevance of traditional power in the context of a modern political system. The phenomenon studied involves the transition from traditional governance to modern bureaucracy, as well as the continued political dominance of Karaeng through a patron-client system and resource control. The objectives of this study are to identify how Karaeng maintain their political influence, analyze the inequality of resource control, and evaluate the role of economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capital in their political dominance. Data collection was conducted through in-depth interviews with 22 purposively selected informants. The conclusion of the study shows that Karaeng continue to play an important role in local politics despite the transition to a modern bureaucratic system. The patron-client system in Bontomate'ne Village shows inequality in resource control, with Karaeng having significant control over land and wealth. The mutually beneficial relationship between Karaeng and their followers strengthens Karaeng's political position, while economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capital supports the continuation of their political dominance in Jeneponto society.

Keywords: Clientelism, Local Democracy, Political Capital

1. INTRODUCTION

Democracy and local politics in Indonesia cannot be separated from the hierarchical government structure, which is regulated by the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, especially Article 18 Chapter VI, which stipulates the division of territory based on the principle of deliberation and ancestral rights. At the village level, governance is regulated by Law Number 6 of 2014 concerning Villages, which defines a village as a legal community unit with the authority to manage government affairs and the interests of the local community. Purna & Didin, (2022). he

village head plays an important role in running the village government, as regulated in Article 26 of the law (Hady, 2022). In South Sulawesi, especially among the Makassar ethnic group, the election of the village head is an important political contest regulated by national regulations and the Regent's Regulation at the district level. Although smaller in scale than the election of the regional head, the dynamics of village politics are often influenced by local elites, known as "Karaeng".

The role of Karaeng cannot be separated from the social and cultural order of the Makassar tribe, which recognizes a

social stratification system consisting of Karaeng, Tau Maradeka, and Ata'. Karaeng, as local elites, have a strong influence rooted in the historical and social traditions of the community, especially in areas such as Jeneponto, which is known as the former Kingdom of Binamu and Bangkala. In the election of village heads, Karaeng remain influential through a patron-client pattern, even though their formal power has decreased. This patron-client pattern, often called "Karaeng and Taunna," shows Karaeng as a central figure in local politics. (Ningsi & Fhatira, 2018)

Bontomate'ne Village, Turatea District, Jeneponto Regency, the presence of Karaeng in the election of village heads reflects the strength of the patron-client pattern that is still relevant. Karaeng rely on various forms of capital—economic, social, cultural, and symbolic—as explained by Pierre Bourdieu, to maintain their influence. Economic capital helps fund campaigns, social capital is manifested in a well-maintained patron-client network, cultural capital comes from mastery of customs and traditions, and symbolic capital is generated from the status of nobility that provides legitimacy in society. This is then in accordance with historical records showing

that since the village was officially established in 1971, village leadership has remained in the hands of people from the Karaeng lineage. The first village head, H. Manggunturang Karaeng Ma'ro, was appointed directly by the first regent of Jeneponto, Abd. Djalil Karaeng Sikki. This appointment was based on the administrative reorganization of the former Bori' (local administrative unit) and the social influence of the Karaeng family. (Syawal, 2023a)

This study uses Bourdieu's capital theory approach and the patron-client concept to explain how the Karaeng maintain power in the context of village head elections. The influence of traditional local elites is also relevant in the context of modern democracy in various countries, where hybrid political systems often display interactions between formal democracy and traditional elite power. In Jeneponto, Karaeng occupy an elite position that gains legitimacy through custom and belief in the mythological figure of To Manurung, as well as adaptation to modern politics through the election of village heads regulated by regional regulations.

Through elite theory, which states that every society consists of the ruling and the ruled (Boucekkine et al., 2021), Karaeng

remains part of the ruling group in Jeneponto. They use cultural and social legitimacy to maintain their influence in local politics, even within the framework of a more formal democratic system.

Lite theory through the concept of "local strong men" in democracy refers to actors who have great influence at the local level, often through the power of patronage and control over political and economic resources in their area. According to Menurut Kawamura, (2019) these local strong men often play an important role in driving local political dynamics, especially in developing countries. Study Permana, (2022) shows that local strong men tend to dominate the political system through strong patron-client networks, which utilize traditional social structures. Basu et al., (2023) show that this phenomenon is also closely related to partial democratization, where decentralization actually strengthens the position of local elites. In addition Argenti, (2018) stated that the influence of local strong men is also related to their access to central power, allowing them to become effective intermediaries between local and national interests. Finally, Radnitz, (2011) emphasized that local strong men are able to exploit the weaknesses of local government institutions to maintain their power, often in

informal ways that are difficult to reach by formal regulations.

2. RESEARCH METHODS

This study uses a qualitative method with a case study approach. Case studies were chosen because they allow researchers to conduct in-depth exploration of complex local political phenomena, especially related to the role of local elites in the village head election in Bontomate'ne Village. Data collection was conducted through in-depth interviews with 22 purposively selected informants, including village heads, community leaders, Karaeng, and villagers involved in the village head election process. Secondary data were obtained from official documents, such as laws and regulations and reports from the Central Statistics Agency. Data analysis was conducted using a thematic approach, where data was coded based on relevant themes, such as the role of Karaeng, patron-client relationships, use of economic and social capital, and local political dynamics developed from three key questions, namely; What is the role of Karaeng in the village head election in Bontomate'ne Village, how do patron-client relationships affect the results of the village head election, and How do Karaeng utilize

economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capital to maintain power at the village level.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Existence Of Karaeng on Democracy Arena

In South Sulawesi, especially in the Makassar ethnic group, the concept of Karaeng plays an important role in social, cultural, and political life. The term Karaeng has long been embedded in the historical consciousness of society, which can be traced back to the era of Makassar kingdoms such as Gowa, Tallo, Binamu, and Bangkala. This phenomenon is especially prevalent in Jeneponto, historically known as Binamu and Bangkala, where Karaeng is not just a title, but a fundamental part of the social hierarchy. The strong influence of Karaeng is reflected in the popular term for Jeneponto as "Butta Karaeng," which means "Land of Karaeng." (Syawal, 2023b)

According to historical records, the Karaeng institution is rooted in the legendary Tumanurung, a demigod figure who was chosen as a ruler and married into the local elite. This story reflects the traditional belief in the divine origin of leadership among the Makassar people, who place Karaeng as a central figure in government and social organization. The Karaeng are not only

political leaders, but also cultural and spiritual figures, whose roles extend to shaping the moral values and norms of society. Social Stratification in Jeneponto Jeneponto society is traditionally divided into three main social strata: Karaeng at the top, Daeng in the middle, and Ata at the bottom. This hierarchical system gives the Karaeng a unique status in society, conferring social prestige and authority. The Karaeng's position at the top of the social pyramid is supported by their role as protectors and providers, often controlling vital resources needed for the livelihood of their followers (ana'-ana' and taunna'). These followers, in turn, are expected to demonstrate loyalty and obedience, which enshrines the Karaeng's status within the traditional power structure. In Bontomate'ne village, this system continues to play an important role, especially in the election of village heads. (Buchari & Wulanyani, 2021)

Despite changes over time, the influence of the Karaeng in traditional and bureaucratic settings remains significant. The political landscape in Jeneponto has evolved from a royal government to a modern bureaucratic system, but the Karaeng have managed to adapt. Many Karaeng have retained their leadership roles, moving into

positions of authority in modern political institutions such as local governments and councils. This transition is exemplified in Bontomate'ne, where the Karaeng family continues to dominate local leadership through the election of village heads. In the years following the initial appointment of H. Manggunturang Karaeng Ma'ro, the Karaeng family has managed to maintain leadership through democratic elections, demonstrating the continued relevance of traditional authority in a modern political framework. For example, following H. Manggunturang's tenure, his son-in-law, Abd. Jalil, S.E Karaeng Sikki, and then his son, Solihin Guntur, S.E Karaeng Lau, were both elected as village heads. The political dynasty continued with the election of Muh. Anshar, S.H Karaeng Tinggi, and most recently, Yusuf Alim, S.E Karaeng Jarre, the youngest village head to date.

Village leadership, although relatively small in scope compared to higher levels of government, is an important platform for Karaeng to maintain their influence and expand their political ambitions. The position of village head provides a base of electoral support, a vital resource for future political contests at the district or provincial level. The case of Muh. Anshar, S.H Karaeng Tinggi exemplifies this trajectory, as his

tenure as village head paved the way for his success in the Jenepono Regional Representative Council general election.

This phenomenon underscores the importance of Karaeng in Jenepono's political life. By leveraging traditional authority and modern electoral processes, Karaeng have maintained their political influence in local governance. In Bontomate'ne, the presence of Karaeng continues to shape the village political landscape, reinforcing the idea that villages are not only rural administrative units but also important arenas for political power.

The supremacy of Karaeng in leadership positions in Bontomate'ne reflects the adaptability of traditional authority figures in navigating the modern political system. This adaptability ensures that Karaeng continue to play a central role in Jenepono's political and social order, demonstrating the deep influence of traditional structures in contemporary politics.

Clientelism on Local Democracy

The absoluteness of clientelism within a social institution can be observed through society's acceptance of relationships as social facts, as reflected in the unequal distribution of resources, personal economic relations, and the extent to which mutual benefits can

be derived from these relationships. The unequal control of resources in the Jeneponto community, particularly in Bontomate'ne Village, reflects inequality in access to and control over various resources. Bosso, (2023) notes that master-servant relationships are often maintained through imbalanced control of resources, whether in terms of wealth, status, or influence. In Jeneponto, the clear social stratification illustrates this inequality, with the *Karaeng* occupying the top stratum, followed by the *Daeng* and *Ata* in the lower layers, creating a caste-based political system in Jeneponto. This system, based on lineage, solidifies the *Karaeng's* position as the upper class, while the *Daeng* and *Ata* remain in lower strata.

Pelras, (2021) also observed unequal relationships in South Sulawesi society, which align with the uneven distribution of resources. He identified a patron-client relationship where inequality in status creates dependency between the patron (*Karaeng*) and the clients (*Daeng* and *Ata*). This inequality has existed since the past, before Jeneponto became a unified administrative area, and it manifests in the form of caste and social stratification that affects daily life.

In Bontomate'ne Village, the *Karaeng's* control of resources is evident

through their extensive land ownership and their role in village head elections. The land owned by *Karaeng Ma'ro* and his descendants gives them significant control over economic resources, which in turn influences political support. The people who manage *Karaeng*-owned land often depend on the patron-client relationship, expecting protection and support in return. This relationship forms a pattern of political support, where land tenants provide political backing to the *Karaeng* in exchange for the right to manage or occupy the land.

Overall, this resource control inequality reflects the same pattern described by Legg & Roberts, (2021) dan Pelras, (2021), where the uneven distribution of wealth, status, and influence between the *Karaeng* and other groups affects the social and political structure in Bontomate'ne Village. Land ownership and positions within the social system reinforce the political position of the *Karaeng*, creating reciprocal relationships that influence power dynamics and support within the community.

In the context of the patron-client relationship in Jeneponto, particularly in Bontomate'ne Village, the interaction between the *Karaeng* and his followers refers to a pattern of face-to-face or personal

relationships, known in the Makassar language as "minawang." This relationship reflects the care and protection provided by the *Karaeng*, resembling almost a parent-child bond, while the followers show loyalty akin to that of a child toward their parent. This concept aligns with the terminology in South Sulawesi culture, where the relationship between *Karaeng* (lord) and *Ana'* or *Taunna* (follower) is voluntary and can be severed at any time. In Jeneponto, this relationship is referred to as "Karaena-Urena," which reflects the dynamics between the *Karaeng* as leader and the *Urangna* as followers. This pattern of relationship has existed since ancient times and involves close personal and mutually dependent bonds. The two main sources of the *Karaeng's* influence over his followers are the traditional authority inherited through generations and the wealth that enables the *Karaeng* to guarantee the livelihood of his followers. This authority and wealth shape a relationship pattern that involves both traditional and economic aspects.

Furthermore, the land ownership by the *Karaeng* also influences the dynamics of this relationship. Followers or land workers, in this case, depend on the right to manage or occupy land owned by the *Karaeng*. This relationship is not only limited to the

economic context but also affects social and political aspects. The loyalty shown by the followers, often manifested in political support, including electing and securing victory for candidates from the *Karaeng's* family, illustrates the manifestation of this patron-client relationship.

Non-compliance with the *Karaeng* can result in serious consequences within this relationship. Followers who are disobedient or disloyal may be replaced by others who are more loyal, and they may lose access to the benefits provided by the *Karaeng*. The loyalty forged in this relationship affects the stability and continuity of the relationship, as well as its impact on the social and political structure in Bontomate'ne Village.

In the practice of patron-client relations in South Sulawesi, the master-servant relationship is formed based on the unequal control of resources, Buchari & Wulanyani, (2021) point out that the patron, in this case, the *Karaeng*, possesses more resources than their clients, who can only offer services, labor, or political support. This exchange does not necessarily have to be quantitatively balanced but rather mutually beneficial to both parties. This imbalance is actually the primary prerequisite for the continuation of the relationship, where although the followers

are under the control of the *Karaeng*, the relationship remains mutually dependent. In South Sulawesi society, relationships between equals tend to create competition, while inequality fosters stable cooperation. In this context, the *Karaeng* provides protection and access to resources for their followers, who in return offer loyalty and political support.

Henley & Caldwell, (2019) explanation adds another dimension to this patron-client relationship. They note that clients may legally be free, but they are not entirely independent because they rely on the *Karaeng's* protection and authority. This relationship is inherited from generation to generation and involves reciprocal exchanges of rights and obligations. In many cases, followers recognize the authority of the patron by providing political or social support, while the patron offers protection from external threats.

In the context of Jeneponto, this patron-client practice is rooted in the *Karaeng's* control of land. Many followers are granted access to manage the *Karaeng's* land in exchange for political support. This relationship pattern has persisted for generations, with strong reciprocity between followers who gain access to resources and

the *Karaeng*, who secures loyalty and political legitimacy.

Table 1. Categorization of Finding on Clientelism on Jeneponto

Aspect	Detail
Social Stratification	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Karaeng: Upper strata, have high social and political standing. - Daeng: Middle strata, often involved in administration and middle social roles. - Ata: Lower strata, generally land cultivators and have limited access to resources.
Land Control	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Karaeng Ma'ro: Main land owners in North Tonroa and South Tonroa. - Land: Used by Karaeng followers as the main economic resource.
Economic Dependence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Land cultivators depend on access to land owned by Karaeng for their livelihoods. - Political Support: Cultivators tend to support Karaeng in village head elections to ensure access to land.
Loyalty and Rewards	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Rewards: Granting land, houses, or valuables in return for political support. - Minawang Concept:

Influence in Local Politics - Loyalty shown through political support and work on Karaeng land. Village Head Elections: Land control by Karaeng Ma'ro influences election results. - Distribution of Power: Election winners often provide strategic positions to their winning teams.

Source: Author (2024)

The unequal control of resources in Bontomate'ne Village involves not only the ownership of wealth in the form of land but also the control of positions legitimized by social stratification. The patron-client relationship between the *Karaeng* and the land-cultivating community creates a dependency that strengthens the political power of the *Karaeng* and his family in local political contests, especially in village head elections.

The patron-client relationship in Bontomate'ne Village, supported by the *Karaeng's* control of resources, creates a socio-political dynamic characterized by loyalty and dependency. This relationship reinforces that the *Karaeng* holds a central role not only as an economic leader but also as a political figure who continuously garners

support from his followers due to reciprocal loyalty.

The patron-client relationship in Bontomate'ne Village, Jeneponto, shows a long-lasting pattern of dependency that continues to influence local political dynamics. The *Karaeng's* control over resources not only shapes social relations but also significantly impacts village politics. This relationship, based on mutual reciprocity, demonstrates that the followers' loyalty does not come freely but is a result of the exchange between the protection and rewards provided by the patron. This relationship is key for the *Karaeng* in maintaining political support while ensuring the continuity of the patronage system that has long been entrenched in the Jeneponto community

Capital Dominance on Local Democracy

The control of capital in local democracy related to the control of the *Karaeng* over four main types of capital—social, economic, cultural, and symbolic capital—can be seen in how the *Karaeng* capitalizes on these aspects.

Economic capital controlled by the *Karaeng* in Bontomate'ne Village is a crucial factor in maintaining power and influencing political contestation, especially in village

head elections. The economic capital possessed by the Karaeng, whether in the form of land ownership or financial wealth, significantly impacts the political dynamics in the village. In this context, the Karaeng is not only known as a wealthy individual but also as a patron who has the capacity to provide for his followers, including in terms of basic needs, education, and contributions to ceremonial events.

The economic capital owned by the Karaeng, including land ownership and financial wealth, plays a key role in shaping political support. Ownership of land and rice fields by the Karaeng and his family allows for direct control over the masses, particularly from the taunna or anaq-anaqna who manage the land. Followers working on the Karaeng's land are likely to give political support as a form of reciprocity. Additionally, the Karaeng gains political advantage through relationships with tenant farmers who manage the land as a business, although this relationship is not as strong as with the taunna or anaq-anaqna.

The utilization of economic capital is not limited to land ownership but also includes financial wealth used to support campaign activities. Financial capital allows the Karaeng to fund campaign operations,

including financing the campaign team, establishing victory posts, and providing money to voters. The presence of financial capital also enhances the Karaeng's capacity for socialization and mass mobilization during the campaign.

The financial capability of the Karaeng plays a crucial role in political operations, from preparation to election day. During the election process, the Karaeng uses his economic capital to ensure maximum support, including providing refreshments to villagers on election day. This ensures that the base of support built remains solid and undisturbed by opponents.

Overall, the control of economic capital by the Karaeng in Bontomate'ne Village, whether in the form of land ownership or financial wealth, serves as an effective tool in maintaining power and influencing the outcome of political contests. This economic capital not only supports the social-economic existence of the Karaeng but also functions as a primary strategy for gaining political support at the village level.

Cultural capital, as explained by Pierre Bourdieu, includes knowledge and values acquired either consciously or passively, affecting an individual's position within the social structure. In the context of

Indonesian politics, particularly in Bontomate'ne Village, cultural capital is closely related to the community's trust in the candidate's adherence to local customs, closeness, and the ability to position themselves in accordance with local customs and traditions. This cultural capital plays an important role in determining the acceptance and suitability of a leader by the community.

The Karaeng, being an integral part of the culture of Jeneponto, holds a significant position in the social-political life of the region. The Karaeng's status, connected with traditional legitimacy and historical power, as well as his role in social stratification, makes him an entity deeply rooted in the life of the Jeneponto community. Despite changes in the governance system, the Karaengs have continued to maintain their power, demonstrating ongoing acceptance from the community.

Ahmadin, (2021) mentions that the Bugis-Makassar community still views aristocratic or noble classes, including the Karaeng, as legitimate and authoritative leaders. This indicates that the cultural capital possessed by the Karaeng provides additional legitimacy in the context of governance and leadership. Eka Suaib adds that the continuity of the Karaeng's status heavily depends on the recognition and

commitment of both the community and the government.

In the context of the Village Head election in Bontomate'ne, the Karaeng's status plays a crucial role as a determinant in election outcomes. The local community considers the candidate's origins and social status, with a tendency to choose candidates who are descendants of the Karaeng as a form of respect for local traditions and culture. For instance, Yusuf Alim Karaeng Jarre's election as Village Head in 2019 was not separate from the culturally accepted Karaeng status by the community.

The phenomenon shows that trust in the Karaeng as a traditional leader persists even though the governance system has changed. The cultural capital attached to the Karaeng's status provides additional strength in formal elections, with the community still viewing them as legitimate inheritors of power.

According Bourdieu (in Montenegro, 2024), Social capital includes networks and relationships that can provide access to both actual and virtual resources. In the political context of Bontomate'ne Village, social capital plays a significant role in maintaining and strengthening the existence of Karaeng. This social capital includes family networks, political winning teams, and patron-client

relationships that function as strategic resources to achieve political goals..

The Karaeng's family and kinship networks played a significant role in maintaining his political power. The influence of the family in Bontomate'ne society contributed to Karaeng's success in the village head election. Support from strategically positioned family members, such as sub-district heads, as well as the involvement of relatives in the winning team, strengthened Karaeng's position in the local political arena.

The winning team formed by Karaeng also played a crucial role in garnering political support. This team involved various elements of society, including youth and community leaders, who worked together to mobilize voters and ensure victory in the election. This approach shows how social capital can be used to influence election outcomes.

Patron-client relationships are also a significant form of social capital. In this context, these relationships include various forms of economic and social dependency, such as patesang (land workers), and to minawangngang (loyal followers). This dependency binds followers to Karaeng, strengthening his political support base.

Overall, social capital played a crucial role in determining Karaeng's existence in Bontomate'ne Village. Family networks, political winning teams, and patron-client relationships are elements that support the sustainability of Karaeng power. The existence and support of the community for Karaeng, both from family and social relationships, play an important role in ensuring their political success.

Symbolic capital is related to a person's status, honor, and prestige in society. In Bontomate'ne Village, Karaeng status reflects significant symbolic capital. As a symbol of prestige, Karaeng not only refers to a certain social position but is also a manifestation of the community's respect for someone. In the social stratification of Jenepono society, the title of Karaeng requires historical legitimacy and prestige that have been built since the kingdom era.

Over time, the status of Karaeng has transformed from a regional ruler to a symbol of respect and social power. Although currently Karaeng no longer have direct government power, the title is still valued as a sign of honor and high position in society. This shows how Karaeng status functions as symbolic capital that contributes to social acceptance and recognition.

The Karaeng family, especially the descendants of Karaeng Ma'ro, play an important role in maintaining the existence of Karaeng in Bontomate'ne Village. This hereditary status provides a distinct advantage in influencing the election of village heads, with people tending to elect candidates who come from the Karaeng lineage. This reflects the symbolic power attached to hereditary status in the local social structure. In addition to the status of Karaeng, land and rice field ownership is also an important form of symbolic capital. Land owned by a Karaeng serves as a symbol of prestige and self-image, comparable to other symbols of wealth such as luxury cars. Land ownership strengthens the Karaeng's position as a respected figure in the community, adding a layer of complexity to how symbolic capital influences his social and political status..

Table 2. Categories of Finding of Kareang Political Capital on Local Democracy

Categories	Finding
Social Capital	- Family and Relative Network: Family and relatives have significant influence in winning the village head election.
	- Winning Team: The team
Economic Capital	formed by Karaeng is effective in mobilizing the masses.
	- Patron-Client Relationship: Patron-client relationship plays an important role in maintaining power and support.
	- Karaeng Status: The title of Karaeng is a symbol of honor and prestige that has existed since the kingdom era, functioning as a form of appreciation in society.
	- Karaeng Ma'ro Family: The descendants of Karaeng Ma'ro gain political advantages because of their historical status.
Symbolic Capital	- Land Ownership: Land and rice fields owned by Karaeng become a symbol of prestige that strengthens self-image in the community.
	- Land and Rice Field Ownership: Land and rice fields controlled by Karaeng provide economic benefits and political power, strengthening their position and influence in the community.
	- Patesang and Pajamana: Labor relationships related to land ownership play a role in patron-client

Categories	Finding
Cultural Capital	<p>networks and influence economic support.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tradition and Title: Karaeng titles reflect cultural values and social recognition that have been inherited since the kingdom era. - Respect for Royal Descendants: The status and respect for Karaeng descendants as part of the local social and cultural structure strengthen their existence.

Source; Author 2024

4. CONCLUSION

Research on the role of Karaeng in local politics in Bontomate'ne Village, Jeneponto, shows that the existence of Karaeng remains relevant in both historical and contemporary contexts. Despite the transition from traditional governance to a modern bureaucratic system, Karaeng continue to play an important role in the social and political structure. The position of village head is the main platform for Karaeng to maintain and expand their political influence, often opening up opportunities for political ambitions at the district or provincial level. The patron-client system in Bontomate'ne Village reflects inequality in

resource control, where Karaeng as patrons have significant control over land and wealth. Followers, known as "minawang" or "Karaena-Urena," depend on the protection and access to resources provided by Karaeng. The dynamics of this relationship show a pattern of mutually beneficial dependency, where political support is given in return for protection and access obtained from Karaeng. Economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capital play an important role in Karaeng's political dominance. Ownership of economic capital, such as land and financial wealth, supports the mobilization of political support and vote stability. Cultural capital related to customary status and legitimacy, as well as social capital in the form of family networks and patron-client relationships, strengthen the existence of Karaeng in local politics. Symbolic capital, in the form of status and honor, contributes to the social recognition and political power of Karaeng in Jeneponto society.

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